

THE ABOLITIONIST

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Has not the experience of centuries shown that gradualism in theory is perpetuity in practice?

—William Lloyd Garrison

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CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

by Ron Neff

The Pentagon has finally admitted that it has been spying on civilians; on March 3, officials revealed that the Defense Department maintains a central index containing twenty-five million names, 80% of which are keyed to dossiers. The file dates back to the 1940's so that some of those listed are, undoubtedly, dead by now. But even supposing that this contingency eliminates half the names listed (a gross overstatement, especially since a large proportion of the names were gathered in the 1960's) this would still mean that one out of every sixteen people in America has been the object of Army spying. This ratio increases when one remembers that I have not excluded anyone on the basis of age; forget about everyone say, twelve or younger, make some attempt to correct accurately for the number of people who are dead, and something like one out of about ten—10% of the population—has been spied upon by the Army. And remember, this is just the Pentagon. Who knows what the FBI, CIA, and the State and local police have filed away? That these do not consist solely of fingerprints of arrested persons and ex-GI's is certain in light of J. Edgar Hoover's request last year for more G-men for duty on college campuses. [1]

A great many of these names were gathered in 1965-68 because of the high level of political activity, such as the Detroit riots, and anti-war demonstrations, which led to a "crisis-oriented attitude" in the government. When asked how much of this information was gathered on people for political reasons, the Army could not say. Could not, or would not? considering that the Pentagon has been denying the existence of these files for several months, it is surely not inconceivable that this, too, is a lie.

Just what is the significance of this spying? Does the army really violate anyone's rights by putting a bit of information on microfilm? [2] Conceivably, some of this information could be gathered non-coercively, could it not?

Even if it could, two things must be remembered: 1) even given constitutionalist premises, the government's function is defense, not the compiling of biographies; and 2) this information is not just being gathered for fun.

With respect to the first, it might be said that this information could be used in preventing crime and capturing criminals. True, but so can census forms and the outlawing and registering of unions. The preventing of crime is, in fact, not a government's proper concern—assuming it could have one; if it were, the society of 1984 or *This Perfect Day* would be unobjectionable. But freedom, not crime, is the proper standard of the morality of societies; and freedom is not protected by governments' invading citizens' privacy. Sen. Sam Ervin put the matter most succinctly

when he said that a free society must take the risk that "a man who has never committed a crime may some day commit one."

But even by the standard of crime, it must be remembered that any infringement of liberty is a crime, whether at the hands of "ordinary people" or of "duly authorized" personnel. (Indeed, experience shows that the latter are far more likely to commit crimes than the former. This being the case, perhaps it is "ordinary" people who should keep files on officials; but how many of us really know about "our" officials political activities, i.e., what they do with their authority vis-a-vis their "other" interests?) When the second point is raised, it is seen that the gathering of this information by the government is a crime, or at least an overt threat to commit one.

The only use a government can have for such information is to prosecute, fine, jail, or kill people on the basis of it. (Lest it be believed that "our" government does not murder people for their political beliefs, I suggest that the reader acquaint himself with the death of Malcom X. And General Hershey's suggestion to draft men for Vietnam duty who were involved in anti-war demonstrations borders on attempted murder for political beliefs.) It can have no place in a criminal proceeding; neither membership in a group nor the holding of a belief ever prove that one initiated force against another. And it is individuals, not groups and ideas, that must be prosecuted for crimes. If it be argued that political beliefs are relevant as motives for aggression and that this is pertinent in a criminal proceeding; I reply that so are broken love affairs, spiteful words, jealousy, and envy. Is it also proper for the State to keep records on these? It is not, for the simple reason that prosecution of a crime should begin after the crime has been committed, not before.

Since the only purpose of these files can be to invade the liberty of people for the beliefs they hold, the result of having kept the files can only be to inhibit the holding of those beliefs and the expressing of them. In short, it constitutes a violation of the freedom of speech. [3] Quoting Sen. Ervin again, "When people fear surveillance, whether it exists or not, when they grow afraid to speak their minds and hearts freely to their Government or anyone else, then we shall cease to be a free society." [4]

When one considers that such files exist, that radio and TV have already been nationalized, that the Vice-President has made open threats against the press, it is difficult to take that word "cease" seriously. With the freedom of speech becoming more and more bogus, with slavery and kidnapping legalized by the draft, and robbery institutionalized by the IRS, tariffs, customs; with the possession of weapons of all sorts, drugs, and even gold outlawed; with even "leave it" (of "love it or leave it") controlled by the State Department and its passports; with mass murder at home and abroad being conducted nonchalantly, how can anyone

How bad is the U.S. government?

by R. A. Childs, Jr.

One of the many questions which separate "left-wing libertarians" from "right-wing libertarians" is that of just how bad the U.S. Government is. The fault lies partly on both sides. Among left-libertarians, practically no one has taken the time to detail just exactly what they mean, what is being spoken of, and what evidence they have for it. Among right-libertarians, practically no one knows any history beyond the few tomes recommended by the Foundation for Economic Education, YAF, the John Birch Society, and so forth. And no left-libertarian has taken the time to detail his case either.

In one short article, it is impossible to do all the detailing and arguing which will have to be done in order to resolve the debate. But what I want to do here is to point out just what the debate is

over, and to suggest to both sides how to resolve it.

Right-libertarians basically, are patriotic in temperament. They maintain that despite all of its faults, the United States is "the freest country in the world," that ours is still the best government; they react with abhorrence and screams of rage when a left-libertarian suggests that the U.S. government is the most evil government on the face of the earth. This the left-libertarian unfortunately does often, without evidence or explanation, and without trying to calmly present his arguments.

First, let me make a differentiation: the government, or the State as I shall call it, is not the same as the country of the United States, nor the same as all the people who live under it, what they do, their homes, property, jobs, values or whatever. Right-libertarians are usually talking about the "virtues" of these

fail to see that the US is already a dictatorship? According to conservative libertarians, such as Ayn Rand and Leonard Reed, the signal for revolution to begin is the imposition of censorship. Well, censorship is being imposed and has been imposed for several decades. But how much more evil must the State become before libertarians begin exercising their right to revolution?

Someone has.

To some, revolution means the foregoing of luxuries and the devotion of a lifetime to the realization of an ideal; to others, it means not the sympathizing with a movement, but the making of it; to artists it means the spirit of "The Soldiers Chorus" from Yuri Shaporin's *The Decembrists*; to scholars, it means historical revisionism and propaganda. To one, it meant a bomb in the Capitol.

It is not my purpose here to discuss the tactical merits and demerits of the bombing—whether it achieved anything concrete, its implications for repression, etc.; nor shall I discuss the morality of it: as it caused not harm to non-aggressors and destroyed no private property, the only point that could be at issue here is whether it was worth the risks the bomber undoubtedly took—and I am in no position to analyze this. The aspect on which I shall focus is the aesthetic fineness of the act and to compare it with that of its critics.

The bombing was a protest against the war in Indochina, specifically against its expansion into Laos. It was, indeed, a symbolic attack, not against "democracy"—as has been alleged—but against the Monster State which daily incarcerates, robs, kidnaps, and murders peaceful people. That an attack on its Capitol could be and was made can only excite a spirit of fraternity between the attacker[s] and libertarians everywhere, a spirit that reaches from the depths of the past to the depths of our hearts, encompassing the great rebels against tyranny from Moses through Judas Maccabbees to Patrick Henry, John Brown, and Louis Lingg.

President Nixon was shocked that violence would be perpetrated on a symbol of a government that has provided a means of peaceful change. Change of what? Of personnel not policy. (This, to be kind. For there is no means by which we can change the entrenched bureaucracy.) But this was only the fourth time protestors have brought violence to the building with the

dome. How many times before had the conservatives (that is, the defenders of the State) and reactionaries exported violence from that same "symbol of democracy" in the form of declarations of unjust wars, of appropriations for undeclared wars, and of authorizations for mass murder? Surely it is only just that violence should return to that building from which untold violence has exited.

"Outrage." "Sacrilege." "Tragic, barbaric thing." "The work of kooks and criminals." These epithets hurled by the government, I submit, more appropriately apply to the very thing that was protested, and it is to his everlasting glory that Senator McGovern dared to make this explicit on the Senate floor.

"An act of cowardice," said the President. Yet it strikes me that one or two people's daring to attack the Leviathan at its very heart when opposed to them were the armies, and weapons of the Pentagon, FBI, CIA is an act, if not of wisdom, at least of awe-inspiring courage. Infinitely greater courage, surely, than has ever been shown—ever could be shown—by a pilot bombing a village, whether that village be in Germany, Japan, or North Vietnam. There can be, however, no question as to which of these bombers will be decorated and which hunted, prosecuted, and perhaps murdered.

The moral cretinness, the intellectual honesty, of those who do their mischief in this building can be gauged by the fact that their foremost concern was the effects increased security at the Capitol would have, not whether they should review their policy vis-a-vis the revolution in Vietnam. "The openness of the Capitol," wrote TIME magazine, "has been one of the strengths of American democracy; the nation's laws have been written in full view." The content of these laws and their result (the openness, say, of FBI files, or of CIA expenditures?) are apparently not at issue. Such evasions bring Noam Chomsky's great question to mind: Does the United States need dissent—or denazification?

Surely the answer implied by the bomb in the Capitol is clear. The ability to give such answers places men firmly in what Albert Einstein called "a moral elite". And as that elite grows and Leviathan's invasions are more and more opposed by dedication to liberty embodied in human beings daring to resist, the State will crumble. The West Wall yet stands, but it is fraught with the cracks of decadence; it is held up by ugly beams and supports. But it cannot stand forever. Until it falls, there is a person out there somewhere whom I hope stays free. A person whom I, for one, salute.

latter, while left-libertarians are really talking about the State.

So let us focus for a minute on the State, and on its domestic activities. Is or is not the U.S. the freest country in the world? Well, to this question, right-libertarians answer a stout "yes!" Alright, by what standard? And how many other countries are being compared? This the right-libertarians never take up in depth, and this is one reason why I object to them; they are often shallow and repeat the stories and myths about the United States without having "checked their premises" as the Randians put it. Let us divide up domestic violence into two aspects: scope and intensity. *Scope* is a word for *how many* people the actions of the U.S. Government affects domestically. *Intensity* is the extent to which the state exercises violence or the threat of it in regulating actions and confiscating property. Now with respect to *scope* the U.S. government, domestically, must surely fall behind both the U.S.S.R. and China, and thus is not the worst government in that respect. But with regards to intensity, it is another story. The main reason for the problem is that there is really not much of a way to *measure* the extent of violence and intimidation of the U.S. Government. Certainly it is more *subtle* than the U.S.S.R., East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Spain, and so forth. While the U.S.S.R. is more blatant about attempting to regulate the opinions of those in the artistic fields, for example, the U.S. must surely be said to do the same thing by means of licenses, subsidies, and the like. But let us at this point grant the contention of the right-libertarians, that the U.S. is at least marginally *better* than a few other countries, whether communistic or fascistic in the realm of domestic policy.

What about *foreign* policy? Since this is really what the left-libertarian is getting at, this is what should be focused on when we are considering the issue of how bad the U.S. government is. When, for example, Colin Caxton attacks the left-libertarians in such publications as *LIFE AND LIBERTY*, for making such allegedly absurd claims as that the U.S. government is the most tyrannical in the world, note that he only focuses on domestic policy, on the level of taxes and State regulation of property, etc. But foreign policy is certainly as much a concern as domestic policy—unless we are unwilling to grant that the libertarian ethic and social philosophy apply universally, and that

foreigners, as well as Americans, have the right not to be aggressed against, and having been aggressed against, have the unalienable right to defend themselves.

The whole point of the left-libertarians is that in both scope and intensity, the actions of the U.S. government in foreign countries exceeds in violence those of any other government. How is such a claim substantiated? Predominately by a massive reading in history. Conclusions which result include: the fact that since the Spanish-American War, the U.S. government has been pursuing a policy of foreign expansionism, which is the logical and easily understood extension of the earlier policy of "manifest destiny" under which the U.S. government extended its boundaries from just a few hundred miles west of the east coast of the United States, to the Pacific Ocean. The reasons for this policy are many, but they include as a predominant feature the fact that the influential American businessmen accepted the idea that without such expansion, the U.S. was doomed to suffer from ever-increasing depressions and industrial crises. After the Civil War, in the midst of the depressions which were caused by inflationary policies of the government during and after the War, businessmen sought a way to use the government to stabilize the economy and guarantee them ever-expanding markets for their increased production. Domestically, they turned to government regulation of the economy on their behalf, under the anti-trust laws and others, such as the creation of the Federal Reserve System.

In foreign policy, big businessmen turned to using the U.S. military and its diplomatic channels to insure ever-expanding markets for their goods. This resulted in the Spanish-American war, in confrontations with Japan and China, and the like. It led, ultimately, to the American entry into World War I and II, and it is an important motive in the initiation of the Cold War.

The contention of left-libertarians is that the U.S. government is almost solely responsible for initiating and maintaining the Cold War, and for oppressing revolutionary movements all over the earth. For substantiation of this thesis, I recommend the following: *The Free World Collusor*, by David Horowitz (2nd edition, paper), *The Cold War and Its Origins*, by D. F. Fleming (2 vol.). *The Roots of American Foreign Policy* by Gabriel Kolko (paper), *the Politics of War*, by Gabriel Kolko, *The Hidden History of the Korean War* by I. F. Stone, and *The Futile Crusade*, by Sidney Lens. These all cover different aspects of the history and nature of U.S. foreign policy since the turn of the century, concentrating on the Cold War since 1945.

FOOTNOTES... CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

1. Copies of papers stolen from the Media, Pa., FBI office on March 8 indicate that Hoover's request was granted. For an account of how the FBI operates on campus, see the front page story of the March 24, Washington Post revealing the content of some of these papers. This item, more than any other, clearly illustrates how important "fidelity, bravery and integrity are to the FBI.

2. To get an idea of how much of a "bit" this is: according to TIME magazine (Mar. 8, 1971), "...assorted public and private agencies now keep ten to twenty dossiers on virtually every American. The dossiers often stress political activities, sexual behavior, and credit records..."

3. I consider this violation to be so gross, in fact, that if ever libertarians should find themselves in a position with some control over these files, I believe they should destroy them—fingerprints, dossiers, mug-shots, and all—as a matter of course. Even recognizing that these files might contain information that would identify victims or perpetrators of injustice, I make their destruction of prime importance; for I believe it to be better that injustice be dealt with without the benefit of government spying than that these files or the threat that they pose exist a second longer than can be helped.

4. A similar point was made by Robert Paul Wolff in *In Defense of Anarchism* when he wrote: "Nor can men be called free who are subject to secret decisions [like the secret decision to collect this information] based on secret data, having unannounced consequences for their well-being and their very lives [which the files do have]."



These books maintain that the revolutionary movements which have been sweeping the world since the turn of the century are not communist inspired, but are a continuation of the earlier libertarian revolutionary movements of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. These movements had as their aim the abolition of feudalism, and the old order of caste and privilege. It is this contention right-wing libertarians must face up to and refute, that is, if they want to maintain that this is the best government in the world.

These authors imply that the reason why communists have become the predominant ideologists backing these revolutions

(completely consistent with libertarianism, of course) is because the older classical liberals, adopting a soft-shelled pragmatism, evolutionism, utilitarianism, gave up their position as the leaders of the great capitalist revolutions for the sake of cozying up to the American and British establishments. With these leaders gone (a few exceptions were William Lloyd Garrison, the anarchist natural-rights libertarian and leader of the abolitionist movement, and Edward Atkinson of the Anti-Imperialist League, a laissez-faire businessman at the turn of the century), those still seeing the need for revolutions in Latin America, Europe, Africa and Asia, not being particularly good theoreticians, took what they could find. What they found was Marxism—at least in part. *Their actions* have still been a continuation of earlier libertarian revolutions and movements.

What about U.S. imperialism? A lot of right-libertarians make the mistake of thinking that imperialism is and must always be of the colonial variety, but this is not so. Imperialism today consists of an interrelationship between the U.S. Government, some major U.S. corporations of the statist-liberal bent, and foreign governments or ruling classes (such as that in South Vietnam), which result in the U.S. government and corporations sustaining the foreign ruling classes in power, in exchange for economic-political-interventionist concessions. To do this, a major factor of U.S. foreign policy since the turn of the century has been to suppress revolutionary movements, that could not be controlled. The U.S. government and its liberal hacks have been the architects of the Cold War, and major corporations have also had a very large role in this. And it is from these that we get the myths of the cold war, as Murray Rothbard has called them: that these revolutionary movements which must always be "put down", are somehow "communist inspired".

It is furthermore the contention of left-libertarians that war has been the fountainhead of much of American domestic statism since the inception of the American state, and that it is through the vehicle of involvement in the internal affairs of foreign countries that the U.S. has promoted and maintained statism on a grand level across the world, thus affecting far more people than *any* other state.

Granting this, they maintain, as I do that it is time for the right-libertarians to reexamine the course and nature of American history and American statism. And, having done this, that it is the responsibility of libertarians to once again pick up the banner of true radicalism, of the anti-draft, anti-militarist, anti-imperialist, and anti-feudal movements of the last few centuries which have only lately come under the domination of the socialist left.

It has been my purpose here to clarify the issue, and to show what each side *should* be talking about, and why. What we need from both the left and the right now is intensive and broad-based *scholarship*, focusing on the real culprits in the rise of American statism, and the inner workings of the American system. And there is no better place to begin than with the Cold War. Without such scholarship, neither left nor right can prove their case, or win the *other* over.



Notes on the libertarian movement

by Ralph Fucetola

Libertarians in America are beginning to come together to form a significant movement which is working for change rather than talking about it. Examples of close cooperation abound: erstwhile right-wing libertarians and yippies! anarchists have formed GRAM—the Gay Revolutionary Anarchist Movement withing the Gay Liberation Front in Los Angeles.

Throughout the Empire, local and regional affinity groups are expanding—perhaps to eventually link in a voluntary "national" or even international federation to oppose the international ruling cabal. One of the more successful regional groupings centers around our r.l.a. allies of the Anarchist Coalition in Michigan where they have begun a serious attempt at working-class "organizing."

Other libertarians are working with groups like the Venice Liberation Front, a broad radical coalition which seeks to separate the Venice area from Los Angeles. In Berkeley, there was a serious attempt (involving libertarians) to use the referendum to radically decentralize that municipality. One libertarian at the University of California, Berkeley, is getting the abolition of the student fee on the next school ballot.

Libertarians are also involved in many enterprises, from the famous hot-dog stand anarchists of Frisco, through computer services, investment services, protection sellers (burglar alarms), libertarian bookstores, cooperative dwellings and food coops. The food cooperative is an especially fine idea which has been successful in the L.A. area; a group of people agree to buy from the coop and share the labor of running it; weekly the coop buys wholesome, natural foods at the wholesale market, and all the cooperators benefit. In addition to these economic activities, and movement political activities, libertarians periodically approach the right for recruits raiding YAF and YR's. Both in California and New York some are working with people in the College Republicans on a Dump Nixon Movement. Separate mention must be made of one "leftist" activity: many libertarians are deeply involved in the anarchist "controlled" California Peace and Freedom Party, which is an on-the-ballot party in that state. One activist is a member of the party's state committee. They expect to use the P&FP to push for referenda on libertarian and decentralist proposals. The pickings in YAF are especially good, I estimate 15-25% quasi-libertarians at the recent "mid-A" convention.

The California Libertarian Alliance, with its strong RLA contingent, is moving toward a more consistent and radical position. The "autarchist" (non-state/free enterprise/pacifist) group around Rampart College has suffered a severe set-back because that institution for financial reasons, has had to cut its connection with CLA. Nevertheless the result of their involvement remains: the pacifist anti-property position (you cannot use force to regain your property after someone has initiated force to take it from you) is still accepted by all to many. This position, of course, defends ruling class possession of the wealth it has taken by force from working people.

The refusal to distinguish between just property and stolen property is a serious short-coming among rightish libertarians. Lenny Weinglass (one of the Chicago Conspiracy lawyers) succinctly exposed this during a debate with Phillip Abbot Luce

in New Jersey when he accused "right-wing" libertarians of adopting 90% of the New Left program (some of which he admitted came from the old right) but saying: "go *this* far and no further, . . . don't touch our sacred property. . . ." The criticism is correct; and Luce did not respond to this challenge or to my own question on his view of just vs. stolen property. This desire by some libertarians to maintain our rulers in their stolen property is probably the single greatest contradiction facing the libertarian movement.

To be fair, many West Coast libertarians offer criticism of certain views commonly held by libertarians on the East Coast. Some of them rightfully disapprove of the knee-jerk pro-americanism of various right-wing "libertarians"; though all to many in the West exhibit the same disease: three months ago in L.A. I met with widespread hostility toward Karl Hess' most recent piece in LIBERTARIAN ANALYSIS where he condemned the Amerikan state as *the* chief beast because 1) it is the state oppressing us and 2) it is murdering more people and supporting more murdering regimes than any empire on earth. There are those who still worry about the Soviet beast more than its bigger partner in crime Amerika! At least one California libertarian activist who should have known better, insisted Peter Sherman's remark in the January ABOLITIONIST about the "heroic North Vietnamese defending themselves against U.S. imperialism. . . ." meant that Sherman supported the *government* of North Vietnam. This attitude is an extreme example of their second basic criticism: they contend that some radical libertarians in the New York area, in their zeal to oppose the Amerikan Empire, cross the vague line between support for people defending themselves against U.S. imperialism and support for regimes opposing the U.S. There is a degree of validity to this criticism; but though libertarians must make it clear that they support no regime, we live in a world of states, some of which are less beastly, overall, than others. Strategically we must zero in on the biggest beast of them all first—Amerika; and tactically, we must ally with almost anyone (even statists, revolutionary states, or even SWP in the peace movement) to fight the chief enemy. It is ultimately insane to ally against the weaker enemy rather than the strongest!

Perhaps the real strength of our movement is its growing association with the Youth Culture. The "street people"—people who are trying to live independent of the state system and its plastic, public school enforced culture—are learning that their own anarchistic approach is not just a matter of feeling free, but

BUSTS!!!

Many people, including Student Libertarian Action Movement people in Tucson attempted in February to opposed the use of state power with respect to throwing "freaks" out of town. As the police tried to enforce repressive ordinances, aiming at such "crimes" as making music in the streets, thousands of young people rioted. . . hundreds of people were beaten by the pigs and arrested. Almost the entire SLAM organization was ripped off. The bail of those arrested must exceed \$100,000. Iman a din Ahmad, a contributor to THE ABOLITIONIST, was the first arrested libertarian to be tried in Tucson. Ahmad was acquitted, although the Prosecutor was adamant that Anarchy was on trial. Ahmad is "free" but the rest of the SLAM activists are still awaiting trial, not to mention hundreds of "freaks". They need our help! SEND \$ TO SLAM, P.O. Box 3684, Tucson, Az. or to the Radical Libertarian Defense Fund, c/o this newsletter.

FREE OUR TUCSON BROTHERS AND SISTERS

has strong roots in the theory and practice of libertarianism. No real change will be possible in America until our culture changes (though the struggle for change will alter culture). We need a fresh consciousness among people, a rejection of the mindless, grasping, degrading "culture" which grips America. Does anyone seriously think our libertarian ideal of non-aggression against non-aggressors, can be actualized within this violent, alcoholic, machismo culture? Young people are "a fresh wind blowing against the empire": they create the basis for political change; and our brothers and sisters on the West Coast and in the Student Libertarian Action Movement (Tucson) are succeeding in reinforcing young people's essentially libertarian culture. The nearly legendary Tucson Riot earlier this year (in which SLAM people played a prominent role) was almost entirely a cultural revolt: the police, as agents of the repressive Old Life Style, began enforcing city ordinances against cultural crimes like guitar playing on the streets; the result was the Riot in which hundreds were beaten and arrested, including most SLAM activists.

The best recent example of libertarianism's new strength was the March libertarian conference in New York City, hosted by the Columbia University "Freedom Conspiracy" (the same people who wrote the lead article on libertarianism for the New York Times Magazine of January 10, 1971) and the New York Libertarian Association. About 300 attended including representatives of both straight and movement media. The program was stacked heavily with such radical libertarians as Murray Rothbard, Roy Childs, and Walter Block. Child's speech on domestic revisionism with its stern critique of big business's role in creating the warfare/welfare state was certainly the high point of the conference. His praise for Vincent Ninelli's article on US imperialism in the April ABOLITIONIST was well-received by those in attendance and indicated the growing radicalization of many libertarians. Dr. Rothbard's expose of state efficiency expert and some times "libertarian" Milton Friedman also aided in the radicalizing process.

The libertarian movement is defined by the diverse actions, styles and positions of its activists. By our actions we must manifest a willingness to use all tools of liberation and to enter into the broadest coalitions to oppose the state; we must be involved in building the cultural and intellectual basis necessary for real change; and our rhetoric and ideology must become more consistent as we engage in overt struggle against the state.

The staff of the ABOLITIONIST would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Chinese National Ping Pong Team, representing the glorious People's Republic of China on their victory in the World Championships over the imperialist forces of the United States, Japan, and Germany. Another victory for the Heroic Red Flag of the Workers!

RLA'ers on PACIFICA RADIO

Several libertarians now have programs on Pacifica Foundation "underground" radio stations around America. Karl Hess hosts a bi-monthly discussion program "From the Institute for Policy Studies" (IPS is a radical think-tank in D.C. for which Karl works). The show appears in New York at 7 p.m. on Sundays, WBAI, 99.5 FM. Don Meinshausen is also hosting a talk spot "The Right and the Left of Anarchy" on the first Friday of each month at 10:30 PM from WBAI. Libertarians also have programs originating from Pacifica stations in Houston and L.A.

Review: The State

a Review of Franz Oppenheimer, *The State* Bobbs Merrill, 1922.
by Bill Baumgarth

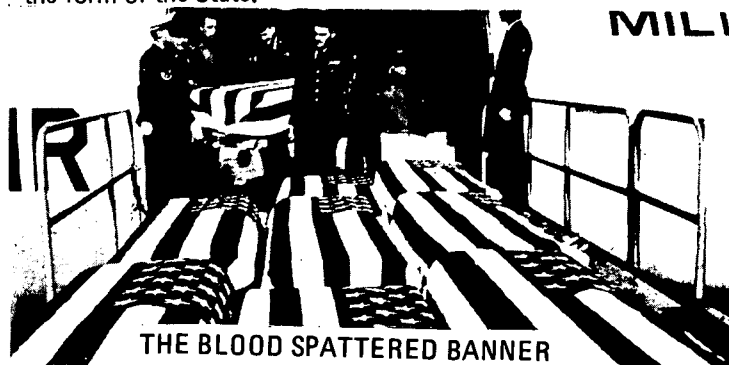
Not every piece of libertarian theorizing dates from the publication of the divinely-inspired *Atlas Shrugged*. Libertarians interested in social theory may with profit consult the writings of not only our native American anarchists, but also the continental libertarians such as Proudhon and Rudolf Rocker. Certainly Franz Oppenheimer's work deserves more than a passing glance. The theme of Oppenheimer's most noted piece of scholarship is the origin and genesis of the state. According to Oppenheimer, there are two means of getting desires satisfied: the economic means, that is, production and exchange, and the political, that is, the initiation of violence and parasitism. Early productive peasant societies were based upon the economic means of survival. Such societies were however plagued by invasions of plundering herdsmen. The herdsmen, after centuries, learn that it is far more satisfying to preserve the life of the peasant, and live a parasitic existence from the fruits of the peasant's labor, than it is to constantly be on the move, killing and looting all along the way. The herdsman, therefore, at the above mentioned stage, brings the predatory means of survival to the highest stage. He inaugurates the state. At first, of course, no other rationale is offered for his rule other than his own might. Later he learns to ideologize force in terms of his "defense" of the conquered, in terms of the "common good." Indeed, by affording more freedom to the subjugated he lets them "accentuate the positive": that is, willingly produce more surplus for his treasure houses in the regular collection of taxes. The people, after generations of subjugation, finally tend to accept the ideology of the ruler. Freedom for them becomes a matter of ignoring the fact that the larger part of productive labor goes into the unproductive hands of their sovereign.



No doubt, someone will object that the account given above ignores the hierarchial nature of the herdsman's original political organization. Oppenheimer's critique may point to the authority of the father as the source for all state power. At this point we may supplement Oppenheimer's discussion by way of Bertrand de Jouvenel's account *On Power*. The patriarchal model, claims de Jouvenel, simply does not take account of the existence of matriarchical societies. The marauding tribe's first authority-figure is not the father but the Council of

Elders—those who claim authority over the forces of nature. Once the tribe begins to go to war, of course, the power of the elder begins to wain, as success in warfare, a concrete fact, replaces faith in magic. The man who is the best warrior, that is, the most proficient and daring at killing and looting, becomes tribal leader. He in turn sets up the order of the tribe, no doubt with respect to those same characteristics that made him outstanding. In short, the state's origins are entirely based upon force, upon the political: the ideological following as a mere rationalization of open raping and slaughter.

Oppenheimer then traces the use of this political power in terms of the peasant, the subsequent growth of the feudal State, and the process of political centralization when this state is wedded to what is termed the Maritime State. This latter State is based upon piracy and mobile wealth, not upon wealth in land. The political taking of slaves becomes, therefore, characterized as state capitalist wage slavery. The masses in the cities, however, remain much freer than the peasants in the countryside, due to their overwhelming strength in numbers which becomes translated into political democracy. This democracy, however, becomes, as all states are, a class affair. Beneath the fabric of democratic decision making lies the still political nature of democracy. That is, even the parliamentary State is but the instrument by which the ruling capitalist class forcibly expropriates the products of the labor of the working masses. Oppenheimer's analysis ends, however, on an optimistic note, somewhat tainted by his Georgist economics: by permitting the fullest penetration of competition into class society, the proletariat will free the economic means of survival from the political fetters, and effect a massive redistribution of wealth and, as a corollary, bring about the demise of political domination in the form of the State.



by Frank X. Richter

*Oh say can you see, by the grim urban blight,
What so blindly we hailed while taxpayers lay bleeding.
Those broad stripes hide deep scars through the perilous night
While police prowls our streets, deaf to our screaming.
But the rockets red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
The dead of each war prove that flag is still there.
Oh say does that blood splattered banner yet wave,
O'er the land of the serf and the home of the slave.*

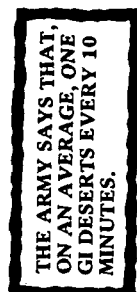
*Oh thus its been ever that men have been chained
Deprived of their rights for the State's exultation.
But with reason our guide, no more to obey,
We'll fight for our rights comes the great confrontation.
And conquer we must! For our cause it is just
And this be our motto—in free men we'll trust.
Till the black and red banners in triumph shall wave
O'er a land of the free and the home of the brave.*

FTD!

by Geoffrey Hall

One of the clear and present dangers of a prolonged period of military conscription is that the people become inured to its statist bite and start to accept it as a matter of course. What concerns them are its inequities or the way that it has been used as a tool of imperialism; many draft resisters have gone to jail not because their objections to the draft per se were overwhelming, but because they were morally offended by the draft's role in the war in Indo-china. We as libertarians are not just fighting against the use of the draft to wage the Vietnam War or the use of the draft to wage an "undeclared" war, we are fighting the whole concept of conscription itself. And the most effective way to fight it is to refuse to become a part of the SSS files completely—through non-registration. It was the logical response to the draft that Americans made in 1917, when Emma Goldman and the No-Conscription League influenced an estimated 50,000-100,000 men into never registering for World War I.

Many people feel that the time for resistance is not now. I feel that although the time for revolution is obviously in the future,



resistance to the State has perennial justification—even if it is not open resistance, but clandestine resistance. I don't want to seem self-righteous to those radicals who have decided to co-operate with the SSS, so I am addressing only those whose decision when the time comes is never to enter the U.S. Army. (I also excuse from reading further those who want to get inside the Army to organize against authority.) Why should we accept deferments and exemptions like I-S, II-S, I-O or IV-D when we are against the draft on principle and are willing to refuse induction if need be? By obtaining a college deferment an individual will probably succeed in keeping out of the draft, but he is doing absolutely nothing to end it. If military manpower becomes too hard to procure, the State can and will abolish the student deferments and the individual is back to the choice of resisting or complying, only in this case to comply means to be inducted, not deferred. As revealed by the Selective Service System's memo on channeling in July, 1965, the draft's purpose is not merely to get the State necessary soldiers but also to force the civilian into a slot that is in the "national interest". This channeling is done by the System of occupational school deferments. The State is not being hurt but actually helped by those who use its deferments, because to get one a person has to do what the Government feels

is good for the nation—be it education or tool and die making. The only time SSS encounters any flak is when you step outside the System and it can no longer account for you in its statistics.

Those of you under 18 (like me) should think about the stupidity involved in giving the Government your name when it doesn't even know of your existence—it's an open invitation to be hassled, documented, ordered around, and conscripted. Furthermore, non-registrants are challenging the State's authority more concretely than those who do not rebel until they are put into a disagreeable slot. We juveniles should heed the implicit message that all those thousands of draft card burners are giving us: "It was a mistake to register for the draft," and not repeat their error. Lastly, the psychological effect both on the SSS and on potential non-registrant when there is a large undetermined number of non-registrants walking around the streets has to be great. It messes up Amerika's planning.

To those people who happened to register, it is rather an impossible task to become unregistered, so the best that you can do is dispose of your draft card and try to ignore the ravings from your draft board. One point that should be stressed is that it is utter foolishness to inform SSS of any non-cooperative action that you take; that is paramount to finking on yourself and also implies that you recognize the State's right to be informed of your actions. There is enough change that the Law will catch up with you without tipping the local board off.

The best part about not registering is that it is a reversible decision, that is, the Feds almost never prosecute someone who registers late—they just draft him. Then he can refuse induction like he would have anyway. So why comply?



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- That individuals must be free to organize their lives, and the forms of their communities and societies on whatever voluntary bases they choose;
- That any attempt to introduce violence into social relationships is a crime committed against each one of us: the ruling class and their states murder, tyrannize and loot us in order to maintain their predatory position of privilege; thus the state and its tentacles of power constitute the major criminal element in society today — it must be isolated and destroyed; alternate institutions can respond to all the needs and life-styles of the people;
- That as revolutionaries, we reject mere parliamentary reformism; we reject power-plays that always substitute one state tyranny for another: political power must be decentralized and ultimately abolished, not seized; we must take control over our own lives.

WE ARE TRULY ENEMIES OF THE STATE!

FLASH!!!

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Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want rain without thunder and lightening. They want the ocean without the roar of its many waters.—Frederick

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page 8